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EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY AS A CULTURAL VALUE

DOROTHY LEE *

I

Equality of opportunity is a common phenomenon, present in many societies throughout the world. What is rare, is to find equality upheld consciously as a tenet, as in the Western world, as a principle to be deliberately applied. My thesis in this essay is that the principle of equality is adequate to democracy only when it derives naturally from the tenet of the dignity of man; only when it is a by-product of the absolute and permeating respect for human worth. In the Western world, at any rate in recent years, the roles of these two principles have been reversed to a certain extent: equality has not been viewed as incidental to respect for individual worth, but has been considered instead as a measure to bring about respect for human worth. To this extent, it has been, for the West, not an inalienable aspect of the respect for man, not necessary to the definition of democracy, but rather something additive and external—something to be applied, or a means to achieve a desired end.

If it is to be a true democratic principle, equality must derive from postulates such as those formulated by Albert Hofstadter, in this conference; particularly the first in his list: "Every human being has intrinsic dignity, infinite worth, incomparable and ultimate." At it operates in the American scene, to my mind, equality often rests on the opposite assumption: that man is finite and comparable. This assumption may give rise to discriminatory inequality as well; and to self-seeking and other-belittling competitiveness. Upon this assumption, man is measurable and can be evaluated on the basis of comparison with others; that is, he is not infinite, and is not valued as of ultimate worth.

Equality in this sense is perhaps useful as an intermediate measure, as a necessary step in the abolition of the ills of inequality; it can be used now to ensure that in the end men will have the opportunity to function with dignity. But it is not enough, because it cannot go beyond this. Based as it is on comparable measurement of the finite, it has a feedback which enhances the concept of the measurability of man; and in this era of groupism, there is eventual danger in this feed-

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back. There is the danger that the uniqueness of the individual will be lost sight of, giving place to the tenet of inter-changeability, one of the cornerstones of totalitarianism. What we need is a feedback which will generate and enhance respect for human dignity, which will naturally bring about full equality; otherwise, equality will need a huge machinery to maintain it, perhaps even legal coercion, thus bringing about the violation of human dignity.

I have arrived at this position through the study of other societies where equality exists in the very nature of things, as a by-product of the democratic structure of the culture itself, not as a principle to be applied. In such societies, there is no attempt to achieve the goal of equality, and in fact, there is no concept of equality. Often, there is no linguistic mechanism whatever for comparison. What we find is absolute respect for man, for all individuals irrespective of age and sex.

II

In this country, equality has been interpreted variously. It has meant sometimes that rights were to be apportioned meticulously in accordance with what was already had. On this principle the Immigration law of 1924 was based; and earlier, this was the basic principle according to which common lands were apportioned in the towns of seventeenth century New England: one acre to him who had one, ten to him who had ten. In this instance, equality meant strict adherence to a common basis of measure; equality of proportion, rather than equality of object. Another interpretation of equality stresses sameness of rights: as when every child throughout the state or the country is compelled to avail himself of the same number of years of formal schooling, irrespective of what he is or has or wants or is able to take. This is a concern with fairness in disregard of individual peculiarity; as when we give the same number of lemon drops to each child, hungry or satiated, happy or in need of comforting, plump or lean, greedy or generous or a hoarder. In the name of equality women in this country have sought sameness of role, demanding the same rights, privileges, opportunities as men. In its name we may seek equivalence, as between performance and reward, crime and punishment.

We may find equality incorporated in an average, expressed in conformity, and thus all individual difference, all "inequality" considered as deviation. The varying conceptions of equality have this in common: all are based on comparison and measurement of some kind. All begin, not with the individual case, not with the person in his "dignity," but with an overall principle, a standard externally set and applied; a standard chosen because it can be commonly applied without deviation, because it is fair and symmetrically just. It is this meaning in which I use the term equality when I discuss

equality of opportunity below, and the concept of equality itself. I should like to raise the question here as to whether the principle of equality, used to evaluate and assign in terms of measure and comparison, is in fact adequate in affording opportunity in a truly democratic way. If freedom is necessary to the definition of democracy, then I would maintain that the principle of equality—in the sense in which I use the term—is opposed to the democratic ideal. Its essence is at variance with freedom, which can be realized only when human dignity is valued without measure, and when the rights of others are respected in their integrity, without comparison or a utilitarian calculus.

This view of equality is challenged as a democratic principle by many non-Western cultures, in which a democratic way of life is actualized without reference to the notion of equality. The societies where we find these cultures, afford opportunity to their members, as well as the freedom to avail themselves of the opportunity; however, they do this in ways which run counter to our own equalitarian principles.

III

Throughout the world we find societies as in the Pacific, among the Bantu in Africa and Indians in North America, where human dignity is maintained inviolate, freedom of the individual is facilitated, and full opportunity—within the limits of the cultural resources—is afforded to the members of the society, in the absence of any concern for equality. This does not mean that we find therefore the absence of inequality, but that whatever inequality—in our own view—may be present is irrelevant to evaluation, being viewed merely as another kind of difference, to be recognized and accepted as valid,—as when we find, for example, uncritical acceptance of perfection as well as mediocrity of performance; and that what we call unfairness in an individual may be accepted as legitimate partiality, as the idiosyncrasy of the individual. Equality here is not needed to ensure the dignity of man, because man is valued in completely different terms. In fact, even the notion itself of equality is not universally present throughout the societies of the world; and concepts which make it possible for us to think in terms of differential levels and averages, of equality and inequality, are often also absent in their cultural framework.

In the Western world, we have in our system of thought, notions and attitudes which predispose us to evaluation in terms of equality. Assessment and even apprehension of objects of knowledge in terms of comparison, is fundamental to our thinking. We know that a thing is *good* because we recognize it *as good as* or *better than;* we know that an infant is tall or slow only when we know his age, that is, when we can compare him with the infants in his age-group. We define accord-

ing to similarities and dissimilarities, according to qualities which can be analyzed and abstracted out of the field under consideration. For example, John Plamenatz, in the paper for this Conference, writes: "Everyone knows that, whatever the respect in which we choose to compare men, some will be superior to others." This may be true when we do choose certain respects in which to compare men. But there are societies where no one is "superior to others," not because the goal of equality has been successfully achieved, not because all men are born with equal ability, but because two fundamental premises necessary to this proposition are lacking: the notion of comparison is not present, and neither is the practice of choosing a "respect" out of the totality of the individual.

To compare at all, we have to choose a "respect," because comparison is possible only after analysis and abstraction. I can compare an apple to a pear, and find it equal or superior or inferior in regard to smoothness of skin, sweetness, texture, juiciness, color; but apprehended in their totality, the two are unique and noncomparable. And we do find a number of cultures where being is apprehended and understood in this way; that is, in its integrity, without reference to what it is like or unlike, without analysis into constituents. Such is the culture of the Trobrianders of the South Pacific, in whose language we find almost a total absence of adjectives, since the goodness of a yam is different from the goodness of a gardener or a canoe, being an inextricable ingredient of the unique whole. This language offers no mechanism for comparison; it offers instead a large number of terms for what would be for us the same object with varying qualities or even varying degrees of the same quality. For instance, the yam of appropriate ripeness for harvesting is termed a *taytu,* but for the not-quite-ripe and the over-ripe there are completely different terms. The difference is not one of degree; it is an aspect of uniqueness. People desire to be *good* (or rather good-gardeners); not *better than.* A gardener works much and hard because he is strong, because he enjoys gardening, because he wants to participate largely in the gift-giving situations. Neither he nor others evaluate his work against a comparative standard of achievement or expectation. Striving is not for equality nor for superiority; it is for the enhancement of uniqueness. A man boasts: "I stand alone; I am the only one." "Competition" is rather a public demonstration of performance, an exhibit where everyone does his utmost in concert. So at the canoe launching ceremonial, the canoes —old and new and newly repaired—all go out in the water while the crowd of spectators on the beach enjoy the spectacle. They do not travel an equal distance, nor an equal length of time; and the time of return is not recorded; if they are compared at all, the comparison is not evaluative. It is apparently possible for the Trobrianders to com-

pare; at any rate they do seek to achieve equivalence upon occasion. But they do this only in situations which are absolutely without value, as when they barter, an activity which they despise. Measurement is also present; but it is used only as a convenience, not on principle; and the notion of the average as a standard of measure does not exist.

Throughout the history of the Western world, inequality has given rise to the relationship of subordination-superordination, inferiority-superiority. It has made it possible for master to order servant, for ruler to coerce subject. We have upheld the principle of equality by way of correcting these evils. Yet elsewhere these evils have been absent even though the notion of equality was also absent. In the Burmese village of the past century, the great value set on personal autonomy and the respect for the autonomy of each and everyone, insured the absence of these relationships. Here a farmer reportedly could not hire labor, as no one could be subservient to another man. In the monasteries, where the young novices performed the manual work as part of their novitiate, the day's tasks were scheduled, so that the boys could perform their duties without being requested to; at most, a monk might point out to a negligent boy that it was noon or sunset, and the boy would know what was to be done at this time. In the Balinese village described by Mead and Bateson, the officials were "reminders." Each individual, according to his position in the structure, had specific functions for specific ceremonials; but since he could not be expected to keep all this constantly in mind, there was an official to "remind" him. Here, again, we have the absence of superordination and subordination, arising, not from application of the principle of equality, but from that of full personal autonomy.

In this continent, the Wintu Indians of California embodied in their culture a conception of democracy beyond that which our own ideal encompasses. Here man was conceived as coordinate with man and nature; there was no hierarchy conferring differential respect and privilege. The chief exhorted the people, but never commanded, except when he was requested to as an emergency measure when an enemy attacked. The Wintu phrase which my informant felt obliged to translate into English as: the chief *ruled* the people, is given in Wintu as: the chief *stood-with* the people. The relationship of coordination, the democracy of the culture, is implemented throughout the grammar of the language. The verbal suffixes which we would automatically see as transitivizers, express instead the relationship of coordination or sharing or cooperation; to do *to,* is rendered in Wintu as: to do *with,* or to share an experience with. So, what is for us "I watched him," is for the Wintu, "I watched with him." Possession, having, is for the Wintu: "to live with." What I translated as: "I want to cure my son," was stated as: "I want to participate in my son's recovery." "I fed my child," is for the Wintu: "I participated in my

child's eating." These coordinative and participative suffixes are employed in relation to animals and plants also; only rarely are terms expressive of the imposition of the self on the other to be found in the texts which I recorded. The Wintu believe that a man kills game only with the consent of the deer or bear or salmon; and so, a man may say either: "I could not kill any deer," or "Deer don't want to die for me." To my mind this is the essence of democracy; yet here, also, it does not rest on the principle of equality. The Wintu are people who, like the Trobrianders, do not compare individuals with one another, or against a standard. In all the mythological and ethnographic material which I recorded, and in the texts which give brief descriptions of individuals, I find no spontaneous comparison made, either in describing or in assessing; nor are individuals described in comparative terms in the brief character sketches I recorded. The language affords a mechanism for comparison, but this, I think, is used only once in my texts, when some children are urged to go *further* north. And I have recorded no terms referring to equality.

Here and among the Trobrianders, equality itself is present, I think; that is, we find the fact of equality, as a dimension in relationships, as an aspect of the opportunity to be, to function. But its existence is derivative; it is not a goal, but is incidental to some other basic concept. It derives from the recognition of the right to be different, noncommensurate, unique; from the valuing of sheer being. When it is being itself which is valued, then none can be inferior or superior; would it be nonsense to say this is because all being equally *is*? If absolute fullness of opportunity is afforded, if the culture facilitates and implements freedom, thus making it possible for the individual to avail himself of his opportunity, then equality of opportunity may be said to be present, since all have fullness of opportunity. But here equality of opportunity does not rest on measure or comparison or the principle of fairness.

In fact, in our own culture, when we seek to establish equality of rights in the name of democracy, we often mean this fullness I have spoken of, not a measured equality of opportunity. I believe that this is what John Plamenatz has in mind when he writes in this volume: "To believe in equality is to believe that there are some rights common to all men so much more important than other rights that these others ought always, or nearly always, to be sacrificed to them, should the need arise. It is to believe that no social institutions and no privileges are morally defensible if they make it impossible or especially difficult for any part of the community to exercise those rights." This is no preoccupation with measured equality, but with fullness without measure, with significance—can significance be equalized or compared?—with concern with the integrity of man's rights, not with their extent.

To my mind, the application of the principle of equality in the form of an externally set standard of measure, has sometimes led to deprivation from the very opportunity which we seek to afford equally. It has led to inequality in the "significant" right of each to develop inner potentiality and uniqueness. In such cases, equality does not result in opportunity, but in coercion. When I force all children of ten, in a certain city, to study fractions in April, I am doing so in the name of equality of opportunity; but what exactly do I achieve? There are the children who, unready, incapable, uninterested, are constrained by this "opportunity." There are the children who, bored with the easy work are nevertheless—in the name of democracy—forbidden to move beyond, since this would introduce inequality, or point to the ignored inequality of native endowment. Some of our thinkers are now rightly concerned with the paradox of "compulsory free" education, according to which we coerce our children to go through the motions of availing themselves of the equality of opportunity to be educated.

The recognition and acceptance of difference as valid and as neither degrading nor elevating, would avoid this dilemma. Such recognition of uniqueness is not the same, I think, as the goal of "personality fulfilled" which John Plamenatz decries as smacking of the doctrine of final causes. However, it also differs from the alternative he suggests: "Every society imposes some kind of discipline on its members, and this discipline, acting upon their natural dispositions, makes them the persons they are." I do not think that all societies "impose." Some offer culture, not as a binding standard, but as a guide for procedure. For these, discipline increases opportunity; and there is no equalitarian standard of expectation from the members of the society. One can say that every society offers to its members a framework for experience and action—a map of beaten paths through the jungle of living. Some societies use coercive measures to move the individual along these paths of culture. They have rigid expectations of performance; they evaluate the progress of one man against that of another; They reward according to distance covered. Others are concerned only in seeing that each individual is enabled to set out on his own chosen path, among those offered by the culture; and when he errs into the jungle, or when he stumbles, the society does not judge nor punish, but may even help the individual to use this misstep toward a richer progress. Such is the society of the Lovedu about which I shall speak below. There is limitation of opportunity here only in the sense that the paths are limited; here man is free to stray, but if he goes beyond the point where the society can help him, he is lost.

Everywhere, in every society, the culture offers its peculiar codification of reality, its peculiar avenues of experience. Some societies

may "impose," "act upon," "make" their members the persons they are. Others do not make, but help their members to be; they enable them to select, within the limits of the structure, the raw material they need for their own unique growth. In such societies, individuals set their conduct according to an internal standard, not according to external expectancies. I believe this is what is meant in the *Bhagavad Gita:* "The law of one's own nature, though devoid of merit is preferable to the Dharma of another though well performed." "Death in one's own law of nature is better for man than victory in an alien movement. To follow the law of another nature is dangerous to the soul, contradictory as we may say to the natural way of his evolution, a thing mechanically imposed and therefore imported, artificial and sterilizing to one's own growth towards the true nature of the spirit." The concept of equality is irrelevant to this view of man. Here we have instead the full valuing of man in his uniqueness, enabling him to actualize himself, to use opportunity fully, undeterred by the standards of an outside authority, not forced to deviate, to meet the expectations of others.

IV

The principle of equality, in the sense in which I have been discussing it, arises from the same premises that also give rise to symmetrical relations, and to competition as fundamental to incentive, goal, and standard of performance. These premises are not confined to the Western world. We find comparability according to measured value among the Bella Coola of British Columbia, for example. In this society, to give a gift meant to enhance the giver's value to a clearly measured degree, and to belittle the value of the receiver to exactly that degree. To grow in value, the receiver had to give back a much larger gift, receiving an even larger one eventually; so that inequality was maintained through the very structure of the society. Hamed Ammar, writing of his native village in Upper Egypt, speaks of comparison and rivalry there as accepted methods in child-rearing; so that even a visitor will greet a child with the question: Who is better, you or your brother?

We have further those societies where, as Lyman Bryson put it, inequality is institutionalized; that is, where the difference in status and privilege inheres in the very structure. Yet often, in these cases, there is inequality only from the viewpoint of a comparative standard. Otherwise, what we see as inequality, may be only a difference in kind, not in degree. It may be the immutable difference of caste, or of rank, or of sex status; it may be the privilege differential which changes with age status, or other progressive social status, as where a daughter-in-law is subservient to her husband's mother, but eventually becomes a mother-in-law herself, maintaining the difference in status

but changing her position in the structure. The difference may be accepted and even valued as a given, or it may be a potential or a festering source of friction. However, it may be regarded, this type of difference always means that fullness of opportunity is not culture-wide, but exists only within a specified status, limited by the definition of this status. Yet in all these cases, it is hazardous to assess on the basis of a comparative measure; after all, the Untouchables in India were privileged to have in certain respects a much freer life and certainly a more interesting diet—from our point of view—than the Brahmins with their many restrictions.

In this country, the Hopi Indians of Arizona have extended this principle of differentiation to the entire universe. Equality here is implicit in the structure of the universe itself. All aspects of the universe are "equally" significant, as they are all indispensable: clouds, pollen, eagles, rattlesnakes, salt, turquoise, each recognized color and cardinal direction, each man and woman, child and adult. Each has his own role, his unique function; each is "incomparable and ultimate." Ideally, each aspect of the universe helps maintain the cosmic order. Individuals help one another within the family and the pueblo, trying to relate themselves in a spirit of harmony and cooperation. Men prepare and perform ceremonials, to help the sun move along his established path or to help the corn move through the pattern of its growth.

The ideal of mutual helpfulness, of full opportunity, of harmony, was associated with a dislike of outstandingness, as of something which caused the individual to become separate from the supporting group. This, in turn, may be viewed in our terms as equality; but equality itself was not a goal. It became a goal negatively, when it was threatened by the competition which the Whites attempted to introduce, as, for example, through the school system. Then the child who was more quick, more able or careful than the rest, devised ways in which he could avoid being outstanding, not because inequality was morally wrong, but because it was emotionally discomforting. The equality present among the Hopi was not based on comparison; it was not an achieved equality, it was not aimed at removing evils of inequality. Competitive success was not sought, in fact was not good, so there was no achieved inequality. Opportunity was neither measured nor equalized, but was afforded in full to be utilized according to individual capacity within the structured role.

V

In the Western world, the principle of equality has been necessary to ensure that all shall have opportunity. If all are to have freedom of opportunity, the freedom of each must be limited so that there

should be no interference, no encroachment upon the freedom of others; and equality was evoked as the principle upon which the limits to the freedom of each should be decided. In a society in which individual is pitted against individual, either in competition or in the interest of conformity, and where justice lies in apportionment according to similar measure, it was natural that freedom of opportunity should be translated into equality of opportunity. Equality was the solution appropriate to a culture where self is opposed to other, where society has to be protected from the encroachment of the individual; the solution of a society which holds an either-or conception of duality. There are societies, however, where dualism is complementary, so that the terms of the duality are not opposed nor measured against each other, nor seen as discrete units. I give a brief sketch below of such a society where the principle of equality was not necessary to freedom of opportunity; the society of the Lovedu of South Africa which E. and J. Krige studied in the thirties.

In this society, equality as principle is not needed, and it cannot exist as a concept because the self is not opposed to the other, nor assessed against the other, nor compared to the other. The self is related to the other in conciliation, and forms a whole in process, maintained through continuing reciprocities. The freedom of an individual does not have to be protected against interference from another individual who is exercising his freedom; it has been safeguarded by the tremendous respect accorded to individual worth, and by the great value for relationships of mutuality, so that even an act of overt aggression will be transformed in this society into the first act of a relationship of reciprocity.

Here the individual is viewed as unique, noncomparable, nonmeasurable. This means, on the one hand, that there are no standards of expectation to meet, no average against which an individual is assessed, no competitive standard of success. On the other hand, it means that equality does not have a place; in fact, it is bad to seek equivalence, which smacks of measurement and calculation, the attributes of the abominated commercialism of the Europeans. It means that compensation, reward, payment, punishment, as we know them, are absent in this culture.

A corollary to the respect for individual uniqueness and worth is that the individual is held to be inviolate. The freedom of the individual is thus again guarded from encroachment. The exercise of force of any kind, except in dealing with the very young infant, is never approved. Even a court of law always refrains from executing its decision, on the principle that to do so would be to coerce and is therefore to be avoided. The parties involved are expected to work out matters between them, aiming at a conciliatory solution, imple-

menting the court decision through mutual agreement. The culprit, if there is one, is left to pay restitution at his own pace. He may merely make evident his willingness to do so, or may perhaps pay only a part and promise to "look for" the rest. The willingness and the promise are enough to rehabilitate the offender. Preferably, however, matters are not allowed to come to the point where they have to be submitted to a court decision. The court prefers to merely arbitrate and clarify, not to condemn or suggest restitution. If an individual wrongs another either deliberately or accidentally, it is the usual practice for him to send a conciliator to express regret and to offer a goat of pardon. And when matters are brought to court, this procedure is urged first of all, as the preferred solution. Condemnation is avoided as violating the individual, and as not leading to rehabilitation; and punishment is bad as it means retribution involving equivalence. The complainant who insists on the pinning of guilt and on restitution, is condemned, therefore, as vengeful; that is, as seeking equivalence.

In all matters, the Lovedu hold that the event succeeding the offense, that is the consequence of the crime, should be, not punishment, but conciliation. If a man commits homicide for instance, the preferred way of dealing with this situation is for the culprit to offer his sister to the victim as wife. This initiates a life-long relationship, in fact a relationship extending endlessly in time, in which the family of the culprit and of his male descendants will be giving brides to the family of the victim, and receiving cattle from them. The relationship will be expressed in a large series of reciprocities: visits will be periodically exchanged between the two households, the women of the bride's family bringing large amounts of beer and receiving goats from the family of the bridegroom, as well as other gifts and services. This is the consequence of a murder; it carries us a long way from the principle of an eye for an eye.

The Krige's describe a case where a young woman is "punished": A young mother performs an act allowed only within the role of a grandmother. The grandmother, outraged, consults her age-group—that is, the grandmothers of her village and neighboring villages—and they decide to punish the young mother and her age-group. The first step is for the young group to make and bring beer for all to drink—the medium of reconciliation, and mutuality; the symbol of sociability. As a second step, a beating is administered; the oldest grandmother beats the next oldest grandmother, and so on down the line to the youngest mother; after this, the grandmothers deliver a lecture, and the occasion is over. The offense has been used as an opportunity for conciliation, sharing, sociability. We can say, of course, that the punishment was spread equally through the group; but that would leave much to be explained.

In all areas of living, equivalence—depending as it does on measurement and comparison—is lacking. In the so-called exchange of brides for cattle, there is no idea of calculating the worth of one in terms of the other. The number of cattle given has been established by the previous marriages of past generations—by the number of cattle which were given for the mother of the bride, and for her grandmother, and great-grandmother in this particular line; the number does not change with the attractiveness or youth or desirability of the bride. Throughout the ages, these two families have continued and will continue to give—one brides, the other cattle; and will continue a relationship of countless reciprocities. These are valued as acts, irrespective of extent or degree. To assess the service or the gift given as against that received, is abhorrent.

How can there be fairness in business dealings under these circumstances? The answer is that there are no such dealings; the despised "bismis" relations are left to the Christians. A Lovedu man never hires out as a farm hand except in extremity; and he finds the work particularly hard, because he now has to apply an external measure to it; he has to work in the field as long as his master does. The usual practice, when help is needed, is to invite people to an agricultural beer-party, a *lejema*. A large amount of beer is prepared over a period of days by the women of the household, and distributed in a great convivial gathering when work in the fields is over for the day. The people invited may stay away without apology, or may promise to come and not turn up; because a promise is not binding or compelling, but rather is accepted as an expression of willingness. In fact, there is nothing binding about the *lejema*. People come as they like, when they like, and work each at his own rhythm. In the end, whether a man has worked hard the whole day, or has strolled in at the eleventh hour, he shares "equally" in the beer party.

Here, again, any equivalence of reward to achievement is irrelevant; in fact, if it appeared, it would be grossly destructive, degrading a social relationship into commercialism. For the Lovedu, achievement must never be assessed, and people are not valued in terms of achievement. People are valued for what they are, for their personal qualities, such as maturity, experience, sagacity—not for the results of these qualities. It is not technical skill or perfection of performance which is admired, but rather the quality of industriousness, and the willingness to use one's possibly mediocre skill in helping. What is good is to promise, not necessary to fulfill; to show willingness to pay one's debts rather than to pay them; so long as people are "looking for" the cattle or the goats they owe, they are not delinquent, even though they never find these.

Opportunity for self-fulfillment, according to the unique desire of

each individual, is afforded to young and old. There is no expectation of achievement to be met. Children grow at their own pace, and are allowed to differ as they please; they are not assessed against an average. Parents take the children's contribution seriously, according it respect, not tolerance or indulgence. The calabash of the little girl of five may be small, but the water can be added profitably to the water the mother brings; and the stick even of a child helps the adult across. The ownership rights of a child are respected, and if he has made a garden, he can dispose of the produce as he pleases. Children can go about as they please, though some pressure may be brought upon them on the part of their age group. If a child goes off and does not return for the night, the parents assume that he is visiting relatives in another village. The freedom to follow one's own bent is not endangered by comparison of one child to another as to attainments, physical size or abilities. There is neither suggestion nor encouragement of rivalry, which, among the Lovedu, seems to be recognized only among co-wives. People find their self-expression in expanding responsibility, not in worsting a rival. They cannot understand the rivalry among European children, their aggressiveness and inability to play together amicably.

It is meaningless to speak of the principle of equality here. There is certainly fullness of opportunity for all, but if equality is present, it is derivative. Inequality is either irrelevant, or is accepted difference. Reciprocity is only incidentally symmetrical. Freedom from interference is ensured through the absolute respect for the rights of others, through the high value of cooperation and mutuality, and through the genius for using uniqueness and difference to generate vital, self-sustaining relationships. In their everyday life, in their law court, in their pervading system of marital "exchanges" the Lovedu are constantly working out conciliation without levelling, agreement without conformity, reciprocity without precisely calculated equivalences. Cooperation and harmony pervade the very structure of the culture, so that self-expression and self-fulfillment can find their fullest scope within the cooperative situation, in terms of helpfulness, of sharing, of respect for the inviolability of the rights of the others.

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THE INTERPRETATION OF SOCIAL VALUES THROUGH SUPERVISION IN SOCIAL WORK

Ivor J. Echols *

One of the liveliest issues in the field of social work, and perhaps in other allied fields of the social sciences, is that of social values and the definition of responsibility of the professional worker in symbolizing and transmitting these values to others. The question is frequently raised: "Is the social worker a bearer of values?" Ample discussion has been given by such social work practitioners as Wilson and Ryland,[1] and Grace Coyle to the social worker's attitudes and values and their effect upon guided group and individual experiences.

In a setting devoted to education regarding human relations and human behavior, such as the Merrill-Palmer School, in which a variety of disciplines challenge the potential of each student, the matter of social values is equally important. The social worker who teaches methods and techniques to students, simultaneously "teaches" or "bears" values related to the practical situation which is being studied. The teaching is offered through the facilities of a laboratory structure [2] in which the student assumes a leadership role with a group of children, teen-agers, or adults, to carry out goals of interpersonal relationship, group interaction, and personal growth. Supervision, a concomitant process, is the means of evaluating and improving the student's ability to deal with different kinds of behavior. It is in the supervisory relationship between student and teacher that concern about values is most often expressed. The supervisor then faces the task of answering implied questions: Where and what are the boundaries and limitations in helping the student to assimilate the values of society? Why is the assimilation necessary to the experience of helping a group? How does the personalized interpretation of social values by the supervisor affect the learner? What kinds of information can the supervisor transmit objectively without including her own biases and preferences?

As we are able to provide answers, we enhance our professional ability to convey helpful information to others and provide not only the mechanical tools for working with other human beings, but also the social and emotional tools. It is a sizeable job. The true answers

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can only be known after scientific accumulation of data over extended periods of time, but each experience with a different student throughout the process of supervision seems to support an assertion that the teaching of values is important and necessary and that the task can be accomplished effectively.

An illustration of the foregoing hypothesis is provided by the content of several supervisory conferences with one student. The student, whom we shall call Ella, was a senior in a midwestern liberal arts college. She planned to teach in the elementary grades after graduation and at Merrill-Palmer enrolled in the Clubs Laboratory for leadership experience with a group of girls seven and eight years old. The broad purpose of such groups is to provide a creative experience for the children enrolled, using program activities such as games, trips, dramatics, and free play periods to help individual members achieve a sense of personal satisfaction and achievement. The student's objective is learning to observe behavior more carefully and thereby cultivate her ability to determine individual and group needs and to gain enough self-insight to use her relationship with the group in mutually creative ways. We believe that these are areas of learning which the student can very profitably transfer to her chosen career of teaching.

The first contact Ella makes with the members of the "club" occurs during a short registration period in which basic information about each girl is obtained—name, address, birthdate, school attended, parents' names, and telephone number.

In the conference following the initial contact, Ella reports with dismay to the supervisor that more than one-half of the girls are unable to give their birth date.

The supervisor helps the discussion move in logical steps from dismay to question, and then to speculations as to why the relatively simple fact of birthdate is unknown to girls 7 and 8 years old. It is necessary to help the student realize first that personal standards and "values" are operating for her at this point. Such questions as, where do children learn about birthdays?—whose job is it to help children learn the dates in their lives that are important—does this lack of knowledge necessarily indicate mental slowness—can we make a judgment of this kind from the limited evidence at hand? As the discussion proceeds, we are able to summarize some of the thoughts as being: (1) birthdays are usually marked by families in the form of celebrations, (2) families of large size with limited incomes may be less likely to celebrate in that manner, (3) parents usually convey the birthdate and the emotional feelings about birthdays, although school would tend to help children crystalize the kind of training that begins in the family, (4) at best we can only surmise until we have further contacts and further information about the members as individuals and as a group, (5) to draw conclusions as to mental facility would be judgmental and dangerous to further analysis and objectivity by the student.

Looking at the knowledge derived from the supervisory conference, one grasps readily that the student's standards for the group

arise out of her own past experience and value system. Respect for individual differences may well be an established value in our culture and in this student's frame of reference; however, the application in terms of respect for families and their different perspectives as to what is important to family survival and satisfactions come as a new awareness for the learner. On the basis of this kind of reasoning process and the opening-up of previous assumptions, she may find cause to more carefully consider decisions and judgments made in the past or those to be made in the future. As she learns in basic courses the meaning of the I.Q. and the use of psychological appraisal she may also understand that the demonstration of mental alacrity is related to the needs and experiences of each individual as conditioned by his environment; that in any single area the measure of performance out of context with the whole relationship is distorted and invalid.

During a later conference, the discussion was focused on material possessions, standards of living, class structure and the meaning of these factors in the lives of the seven- and eight-year-olds:

> About a third of the children had telephones in their homes. What did this mean? What were some of the social factors affecting the lives of the children and their parents? Is a telephone an absolute necessity in daily living—for whom? Is the family who sees the rented apartments as transient housing as likely to invest in a telephone? Does the excessive cost of rents in the community mean a more limited budget and, therefore, less inclination to buy a public utility that one can do without? Does the strained family budget necessarily mean lower total income or does it mean disproportionate costs for necessities? Is factory employment likely to be intermittent? What is the current labor picture? How does this affect the children in their group life? What is the student's impression of all these factors? Is this different than the student's own life, and does the difference have meaning that is pertinent to her work with the group?

These were topics of discussion introduced by a written record of the group which the student had prepared and elaborated by her comments on the kind of life which the children had which seemed very different from her own.

As such matters are dealt with in supervision, certain questions formulate around the supervision: whether the issues are peripheral, whether they bear any marked relationship to the goals for learning and whether consideration of these factors is a legitimate part of supervision, which has been defined in social group work as a means of getting a specific job done. The same source which defines supervision as a means of helping the supervisee perform in a job also says "supervision is seen to be—first, last, and all the time—a relationship of persons . . ."[3] If the latter idea is accepted, then, in establishing and cementing a relationship with the student the supervisor recognizes a need for and gives help. The student seeks help in ferreting

out answers to the perplexities which the group presents with its different set of values. The "job" to be done, giving leadership and guidance to the group, cannot be successfully accomplished until the student has awareness of herself and her values and an increased understanding of the group in the sense of both potentials and limitations. If she is judgmental and subjective in her view of the limitations, the group will be seen and treated as inferior and restricted.

Supervision provides a situation for learning and teaching. In the field of social work learning is viewed as based in part upon psychoanalytic principles which relate here both to the student and to the group, i.e., "An individual cannot be understood except in relation to his experiences and background; an individual's behavior or activity cannot be understood apart from some view of his personality as a whole; and unconscious motivations color the nature of conscious thought and action and must be taken into account in appropriate ways."[4] The student looks at the group in terms of her own background and interprets what she sees, both consciously and unconsciously, according to the meaning she has ascribed to such behavior through her previous life experiences. The members of the group perform according to their respective experiences and backgrounds. They will learn eventually from their leader that other people have many different patterns of living, and that under the process of individual freedom of choice they may select those elements which they wish to adopt in their own lives. In this respect, group participation becomes a totally creative process. The student has achieved one facet of the stated goal of providing a creative group experience.

The use of program activities to facilitate movement toward less tangible goals is subject matter for another paper but, as one example, the group might, with the leader's help, become very interested in a trip to the local telephone company to learn about telephones, their operation, and their benefits to public service. The leader would not, of course, use the trip to magnify the lack of telephones by the group members, but rather to expand the children's knowledge of the world about them. Effective program ideas stem from basic needs and interests.

The boundary to the consideration of values through supervision should be set at the point of gross digression into personal experiences and life. The primary objective of supervision is not catharsis. Lucille Austin,[4] after extensive work in supervision says, "the main principle that should govern the supervisor in engaging in such personal inquiries is the relevance of a particular attitude to job performance." She adds that "the supervisor may also wish to place limits on personal revelations." Consequently, it would seem that values should be

explored only insofar as they relate to the job at hand. It should be evident to a professional person in almost any teaching situation that the excessive sharing of mutual personal experiences and the divulgence of the supervisor's personal life has little place in a supervisory relationship. In those instances in which values are discussed, therefore, the supervisor should project her own attitude only after careful evaluation of the student's needs, after trying to estimate the scope of possibilities that might result from highly personalized interpretation and after objectifying as much as possible her statements and actions. A part of the solution undoubtedly lies in the ability of the supervising person to define clearly, both for herself and for the learner, her supervisory role and responsibility.

Finally, it might be remembered that the interpretation and transmission of values are acquired by practice as well as by verbalization. The student learns from the way the supervisor behaves towards certain situations. If the supervisor is an accepting person who can entertain differences of opinion, foster the thought processes of others, and respect each person during the whole process, then very likely a value of acceptance of individuals in their uniqueness will not come hard to the student whom that supervisor trains. A value of honesty and openness is taught each time the supervisor deals directly and efficiently with a problem arising for the student.

The conclusion seems obvious that the professional person who trains others through supervision, as conceived by social work, has an obligation to teach values. Further, when the interpretation of social values takes place at a conscious objective level, the prospects for effective job performance are geometrically increased.

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THE NEED FOR A NEW THEORY OF THOUGHT

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Psychologists have been sadly restricted by many inhibitions attached to their yearning to be considered scientific. The law of parsimony becomes an accepted shibboleth. It is essential that psychologists cease their preoccupation with trivialities, and accepting the magnitude of their unexplored domain, humbly and sincerely strive to discover some of the outposts of their ignorance. Such is the only way out. They are now ingrown and confused. They are fearful of new theories and new principles.

It is small wonder that Sullivan [1] says

> Unfortunately, the science which deals with mind, the science of psychology, is at present in a very rudimentary state. Indeed, it would be denied by many that any such science exists. Certainly there is no generally accepted body of psychological doctrine. There are, rather, a number of different theories, each having a limited range of application and, where they profess to deal with the same phenomena, differing profoundly from one another.

The greatness of the outstanding thinkers of the world has been due to their genius for freeing themselves from older conceptions and for building out of their experience new interpretations of the obvious phenomena of the world about them. Their capacity for adequate analysis of the situation was dependent upon their ability to select the significant elements of their thoughts and to interpret them, to put together the mixed pieces of the jigsaw puzzle and then to see that these parts produced a discernible whole which was not evident at first. Often the unity and harmony produced by their thinking was rejected by others because it was too fundamentally opposed to current views.

"First a theory is attacked as absurd;" writes William James, "then it is admitted to be true but obvious and insignificant; finally it is seen to be so important that its adversaries claim that they themselves discovered it."

Yet all scientific study has proceeded against opposition. Once a theory is accepted popularly as probable, it becomes possible to test

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it more thoroughly. Those experimenters who originally set out to prove its falsity then climb on the bandwagon and forget their resistance to the new because it has been accepted as correct. Later on, as has often been true in the past, the whole scientific world may discard the theory as completely inadequate. Theories are merely working hypotheses, to be discarded if increases in knowledge make them obsolete. It is probable that many theories currently acceptable will be modified in time.

The stands taken by those who are attempting to prove a theory false and by those who defend the validity of the theory are usually anything but objective. For try as one may, it seems to be impossible to be absolutely indifferent concerning the theory's truth or falsity. That degree of detachment is an ideal few have reached. Thus, it is evident that the arguments put forth to prove the validity of extrasensory perception are far different in direction and tone from those of the opponents of the theory. The opponents are so engrossed in combating the idea that they feel that if one aspect is disproved, the validity of the whole idea is challenged, without even trying to comprehend the nature of the phenomena or their complexity. One writer [1] recently contended that although there seemed to be no flaw in the proof offered for telepathy by the extrasensory researchers, the fact that so many people have a lurking feeling that there are no such phenomena, is sufficient to make further proof essential.

Hence the experimenter who merely attempts to prove the existence of extrasensory phenomena has a difficult task, because if it can be shown that the phenomena could possibly be produced in any other way, the opponents feel that they have proved that it was produced that way. Why such confusion in reasoning? No one assumes that because a man can walk the distance between his house and the beach, that this is the only way he can get there. The incorrectness of thinking is obvious.

The new aspects of experience are not always attainable by approaching the known aspects of experience. It is often necessary to seek new areas still clothed in mystery, in the process of learning new facts. It is necessary to go in directions where others seek not; thus the discoveries may be divergent from the popular conceptions people have of them.

Thus, for example, the scientist who seeks to understand the inner life by the analysis of dreams encounters much resistance from the outside world which has been dreaming for centuries in mystified ignorance. It cannot be so, the world at large proclaims, that such aspects of experience as dreams reveal light upon human motives and actions. There is a period of shocked delay in response to such a suggestion and then active resistance. Yet gradually the resistance is

worn down by successful demonstration after demonstration, and now many psychologists as well as psychoanalysts recognize that dreams have diagnostic value. These investigators sometimes begin to feel that such a diagnosis is an explanation for dreaming; a contented feeling ensues that the essential objective is an analysis of the content of the dream itself rather than any attempt to discover the nature and cause of dreams.

Consequently, the whole field of scientific interest is diverted toward an analysis of the manifestation and further effort is not expended in seeking for the fundamentals of cause and effect that might really offer solutions to the difficulties that dreams so magically reveal. Thus, we have closed a door, and efforts to open it in ways that are not usual and accepted as valid, produce great resistance. Such efforts as have been made in accepted ways to unravel the mystery of dreams fail to offer a valid explanation for the revelations of the personality that are available through them. Each effort has produced certain theories and attempted in a self-convinced way to prove that they are correct. The content of the dream and the situation are followed to the point desired and all contradictory and unrelated material in the dream is discarded in spite of the fact that the validity of the theory is challenged by this material.

Various descriptive studies have been made of dreams and the research has brought out the influence of such factors as external stimuli on the dreamer, his physical condition, his unsatisfied desires, and the relation of the dream elements to past experience. While these studies shed some light on the nature of dreams, in themselves they offer no explanation for dreaming.

Therefore, a scientific theorizer will say, let us prefer always the simplest explanation. Let us take the fact that through the nervous system there is a continuous impulse that is related to body functioning which is always present, even in the most quiescent dream states. This condition of affairs is related to thought, to mental processes; therefore, the fact that it is continuous, as shown by the interesting device of recording brain waves and other electrical phenomena of the brain, proves to most scientific minds that the dream state is produced by the peculiar quality of the nervous excitation that takes place during sleep. Very plausible indeed is this explanation. It is the simple and final complement to a long period of wondering ignorance —and it has the added virtue of being an explanation that does not jar the mental placidity of fellow scientists.

But in this explanation the phenomenological significance is ignored. No explanation is valid that does not relate the various aspects of dream experience into a meaningful whole. Consequently, all the underlying meaning and significance of dreams is forgotten, the potentiality of helping the mentally distressed is inhibited, and any possi-

bility of penetration into the nature of thought side-tracked for long periods by the acceptance that dreams have been satisfactorily explained.

In like manner psychological theory and science are hampered by parallel reasoning with respect to the waking consciousness. There is a constant process of nervous excitation, a constant ebb and flow of nervous current through the nervous system. Of course, this has obvious relationship to the thought processes and consciousness. The assumption that this current is the cause of the thought is to assume a great deal. There is no experimental proof whatever of such causal relation. That the thought processes cease to be conscious when this flow of nervous current ceases, is not sufficient to prove that that the actual relationship is one of cause and effect.

Why not consider the matter rationally? When two factors continue together and when one ceases the other ceases, what possible conclusions are there? Can it be said conclusively that one factor is the cause of the other? If so, in the case of the nervous current, which is the cause and which the effect? While description is essential for communication and is basic to all other steps, even if it be definitely proved that one precedes the other, there is no conclusive evidence of an ends-means relationship. From the point of view of logic, the relationship is far from conclusive. Perhaps there is a third factor which determines the nature of both of these actions. The unexplored related variables may be many. Certainly, that there is none cannot be asserted. Logically, the theorum is inconclusive.

Psychology clings with awful solemnity to the absurdity of applying the methods of physics to the psychological fields of knowledge. It is fruitful for us to imagine how psychologists might have approached their science if the methods used in physics had not been established as the pattern for all scientific experiment. Perhaps long ago we should have made clear to the scientific world the fact which finally the physicists have discovered, that all scientific knowledge, which is actually pointer reading, fundamentally reverts back to the matter of human perception and as such is dumped into the lap of the psychologist, who helplessly attempts to seek its meaning by describing it.

Modern psychology has turned a blasé shoulder toward the techniques of introspection. Phenomenology is to many psychologists merely a passing belief. To be sure, it has given acknowledgement to the fact that all that is known about the mental life of others is either by report or inference. But the effort of modern psychology to produce duplicatable phenomena has limited this material to be reported or inferred to very simple sensational aspects—for one of the fundamental laws of psychology, of which we all are aware, is that no psychological event can ever be exactly repeated or duplicated.

Thurstone [3] comments: "What is not generally understood even by many scientists, is that no scientific law is ever intended to represent any event pictorially. The law is only an abstraction from the experimental situation. No experiment is ever completely repeated." Elsewhere, he says: "Every scientific construct limits itself to specified variables without any pretense of covering those aspects of a class of phenomena about which it has said nothing."

The recently developed principle of indeterminacy in physics is based upon the fact that we cannot observe the course of nature without disturbing it.

Take for example the question of emotion—truly a fundamental topic for study. The psychologist has been able to find out precious little about that aspect of life because his capacity to produce genuine human emotion under controlled conditions is limited, not only by the fact that few emotions can be produced legitimately under laboratory conditions, but also by the fact that society exercises a severe censorship on the doings of psychologists. Some of them have been thrown out of their jobs and considered unfit as teachers because they dared to explore aspects of emotional expression that are regarded as improper from a cultural point of view. The feeling that the introspection was a faulty method has left the psychologist grimly holding the bag, while the psychoanalyst marches off in victory with at least a partially workable theory, that the psychologist has an inner feeling is wrong, at least in some of its aspects, but cannot disprove because he knows scientifically very little about emotions. For while the psychologist legitimately uses introspection and self-analysis only rarely, yet as a human being he cannot help doing so; even if he is so on the defensive he does not admit it.

So the tremendous challenge of emotional life, the necessity for fundamental understanding of its functioning, has flown far and free of the psychological experiment.

"But," as Sullivan [1] says, "the aim of science is to proceed to the next step, the construction of theories. Just as a law unifies a group of phenomena, so a theory unifies a group of laws. A theory is, as it were a central principle, from which the various laws belonging to it can be deduced."

When unity is given to physics by the notion of the electron and its intricate functioning and unity is given to biology by the cell, these sciences proceed with greater rapidity. Psychologists have sought with myopic effort to find a similar unifying stuff to help connect their disjointed efforts in the study of mental phenomena. Some speak of consciousness, some of reflex arcs, some of bonds, some of activity, some of nerve current, some of different potentials and fields—reducing mental phenomena to a kind of electrical activity—but they are not daring enough to discuss a new concept of mental force or a

mental component of the physical world that has its laws and its specific ways of being generated and used. Physicists have no inhibitions about developing hypotheses that clarify and tie together the unexplained facts of the universe. If they need to postulate a theoretical force or component of the universe, they do so. They have, as in the case of electricity, only isolated manifestations in the material substances through which it is manifest. But because of their freedom and the lack of inhibitions in thinking they have been able to discover many fundamental things about electricity that would otherwise have been utterly unknown.

Psychologists have a similar challenge. More than anything else in their science, they need the freedom that allows them to produce a mind stuff—a mental substance—thought in the making. This need for a uniting hypothesis about thought is indicated on every hand and fought bitterly by those who fear their flimsy set of concepts will be undermined by it. Anyone who seriously sets himself to analyze his own mental processes and leaves himself open to the most obvious explanation will ultimately end up with a hypothetical mental field in which the brain and body serve as a kind of generator, a sort of receiving and sending set.

We find ourselves very admiring of the physicists who could so isolate themselves from the need for material tangibles that they could discover radio waves and find a way for them to be transmitted and received. Perhaps their insistence may give us courage to meet the force of opposition that resists the obvious in the science of psychology.

For many years the scientists of other fields have challenged the psychologist with this problem, but the psychologist, "passing the buck," has claimed it was merely a problem for philosophy. Eddington, one of our deepest thinkers in the philosophy of physics, has come to the conclusion that all we actually know about the qualities of the physical world is the way they affect our measuring instrument. The only knowledge we have of the vibrating atoms, sound and light waves, is knowledge of their structure. This tells us nothing about their nature. Seen from the outside, a living brain is a collection of molecules in movement. Experienced from the inside, it is a collection of mental states. The first view involves a perception of structure, the second view requires knowledge of nature or substance.

For Eddington,[4] the whole of what exists in the external universe and in our minds is homogeneous:

> The stuff of the world is mind-stuff. The realistic matter and fields of force of former physical theory are altogether irrelevant—except in so far as the mind-stuff has itself spun these imaginings. - - The mind-stuff is not spread in space and time; these are part of the cyclic scheme ultimately derived out of it. But we must presume that in some other way or aspect it can be differentiated into parts. Only here and there does it rise to the

level of consciousness, but from such islands proceeds all knowledge. Besides the direct knowledge contained in each self-knowing unit, there is inferential knowledge. The latter includes our knowledge of the physical world.

Sir James Jeans [5] says

the concepts which now prove to be fundamental to our understanding of nature—a space which is empty, so that one point differs from another solely in the properties of the space itself; four dimensional, seven and more dimensional spaces; a space which ever expands; a sequence of events which follows the laws of probability instead of the laws of causation—or, alternatively, a sequence of events which can only be fully and consistently described by going outside space and time—all these concepts seem to my mind to be structures of pure thought, incapable of realization in any sense which would properly be described as material.

Jeans [5] continues at another point:

Mind no longer appears as an accidental intruder into the realm of matter; we are beginning to suspect that we ought rather to hail it as the creator and governor of the realm of matter—not of course our individual minds, but the mind in which the atoms out of which our individual minds have grown exist as thoughts.

Some psychoanalysts have brought out a suggestion that the "Unconscious" is in some way an extension which connects all minds with each other. Jung and Stekel, in psychoanalytical studies, both found evidence of the reality of mental telepathy. Freud [6] is definitely open-minded about it. He said,

. . . psychoanalysis may do something to advance the study of telepathy, insofar as, by the help of its interpretations, many of the puzzling characteristics of telepathic phenomena may be rendered more intelligible to us; or other still doubtful phenomena may for the first time definitely be ascertained to be of telepathic nature. . . . Sleep creates favorable conditions for telepathy. Sleep is not, it is true, indispensable to the occurrence of telephatic processes—whether they originate in messages or in unconscious activity.

With receptive attitudes on the part of many thinkers, it appears that we have justification for a new hypothesis of a mind-stuff or mental energy which extends as a continuum of thought throughout the universe. We as psychologists are no longer needing to reduce all mental phenomena to physically known constituents. Can it be possible that the unitary nature of thought has escaped our notice so long? Yet we see how long it took the world to produce Newton and the first unifying study of gravitation. It is true that much yet undiscovered knowledge is hidden in the obvious where we have seen it so continuously that any exception is not even recognized as related.

Once having even a fragmentary hypothesis in regard to the universal nature of thought substance that is present potentially in space,

that while having some electrical associates, functions in a fashion entirely unique, we can begin to test our theory to see how we can get at experiential knowledge. No longer do we unrealistically dispose of the problem by calling it metaphysical, but by a process of analogy we may explore its nature by comparing it to other manifestations. Just as light and electricity have their laws and ways of functioning so may thought be found to have laws and manifestations that can be teased out by techniques suited to the purpose. What questions does such a theory hold for us? How does thought exist independent of its manifestation? What are the sources of its manifestation? What is its natural state? Is it similar to electrical phenomena? How is it related to it? Is it magnetic in nature? Is it some substance like air that our brains feed upon or breathe as the lungs breathe air? So we challenge ourselves by many theoretical questions. Once we accept a tentative hypothesis, the potentiality that there is an independent mental atmosphere, mind-stuff, mental energy, call it what you will, then we are free to test it out.

The avenues of investigation are many. A few I might suggest are:

1. A thorough-going collection of dreams of a group of people who are associated in some local area. I have found evidence of correspondence in dreams between people only slightly acquainted with each other. The accumulation of dream material from the point of view of our new hypothesis would mean new techniques in collection, recording, and evaluation.

2. A study of the nature of thoughts as they enter the threshold of consciousness. By a process of holding my thoughts quiescent and observing, I have been able to note at various times the miscellaneous character of these roving thoughts. When the attention once seizes upon the thought and the self accepts the idea embodied in it, the transformation is rapid and at the usual conscious level seems to be definitely one's own. This type of introspection requires a relaxed and observing mental state. Perhaps not everyone has the ability to make this kind of study. A fellow psychologist several years ago said she had tried it and became frightened at the effect, fearing mental imbalance, so she resolved not to do it again. Many persons have the experience of thoughts or ideas popping into their minds.

3. An approach to extrasensory perception with the new theory in mind would give this type of study much greater freedom in research than it now has. At present its exploration is still largely based on the percentage of correct responses and limited to such colorless and uninteresting material that the wonder is that the thoughts have enough continuity or force to be perceived by anyone else.

It is my opinion as I have observed the nature of the thought units

or ideas, that they are held together by a kind of charge which seems to be of an emotional nature. This charge is given to the thought by the person producing it. This may be of such nature that as long as there is the charge the idea holds together, and as soon as a charge is released, the idea disintegrates back to the original mind-stuff.

4. Consequently, a new approach can be suggested in studying the relation of emotion to thought. This may very well be tied up with a study of motivation. The observation of the relation of dreams to emotional states of the dreamer might indicate a capacity for thoughts of similar content to be attracted to each other, with some sort of magnetic or attractive power. This may be related to some selective factor in the emotional charge. Jung's theory of "dreams that heal" may give hints as to the dynamics involved. A fruitful type of investigation of this relation of thought to emotion might develop from a close scrutiny of dreams.

5. A study of the nature of intuition seems to be in order in connection with the exploration of such a mind-stuff hypothesis. This should involve a collection of instances and a description of the complete circumstances involved in order to set up an adequate experimental exploration in this research area.

6. A study of the problem of inspiration is surely related. Collection of the cases of simultaneity of inventions, the development of new theories and other correspondences in thought content of a creative nature is one facet for study in this direction. Another line of approach is the study of poetic inspiration and other types of inspirational writing. I have experimented somewhat in this field with several different people and have a collection of material from various sources. In this connection, the question of automatic writing should also be studied.

So with unification in our research, a wider horizon in our seeking, let us try to explore anew the realms of thought, and whether the mind-stuff hypothesis be ultimately proved true or false, we shall have gained a greater understanding of the nature of mental life and its functioning from having had the courage and willingness to test it.

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THE PSYCHOLOGIST IN THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

NATHAN FARBER*

In the past decade the services of clinical psychology have been expanded in its many fields. One of these applications has been in the school systems. Since an ever-growing number of psychologists are working in and with the public schools, a movement has been under way, especially in the Division of School Psychologists of APA, to define the role of the school psychologist, to set standards for preparation, and to lay groundwork for the future role of psychologists in the schools.

Because of the varied backgrounds of the people presently engaged in school psychological positions, a look at the qualifications which people have, and what sort of training is recommended they have, is first in order. Secondly, we shall examine just what psychologists are doing in the schools today, and finally, we shall see what the feelings and ideas are about the future needs of services to schools, as envisioned by people now in the field.

Since the school psychologist is a specialist in the problems of clinical psychology as they arise in the school situation, his primary training should be that of a clinical psychologist. He should have a knowledge of learning and curriculum problems and be able to use statistical methods. He should be able to communicate with parents, school personnel and children of all school ages. He needs to have a wide range of personal experience or have the ability to profit from vicarious experiences. He needs good judgment, emotional maturity and professional as well as personal integrity. This is a tremendous bill to fill, and for the most part still a goal to aim for. A beginning has been made in attaining this goal. Let us examine some of the current standards.

With regard to certification, it has been noted that in 1946 there were only seven states which certified school psychologists.[11] In 1949, there were eleven states [8] and currently there are about a dozen which certify. One of the findings of investigators has been that the status

* Formerly a graduate student at Merrill-Palmer. This paper is a revision of one read at the First Annual Meeting of the Southeastern Psychological Association, Atlanta, Ga., May 23, 1955. At that time the author was at the Escambia County Child Guidance Clinic, Pensacola, Florida.

of state certification of school psychologists varies widely.[2, 15] Qualifying for certification in one state will not necessarily qualify a person for work of a similar nature in another state. Several states have several levels of school psychologists. A number of states employing personnel doing psychological work have them listed as certified in specialized services or as psychometrist or elementary school counselor. Uniformity is needed in certification so that persons desiring to go from one state to another will not face wide differences in requirements.

In 1948 and in 1950 surveys were made of the nature and extent of psychological services throughout the country. The 1948 study revealed that one-third of the nations' school children received no psychological services in the schools.[2] The 1950 study [19] indicated only one full-time psychologist available for every 43,500 students. Moreover, these psychologists were likely to be found in large urban areas with populations of 10,000 or over. This situation certainly indicates an undesirable trend and should be remedied.

According to a survey four years ago,[13] there were only five states which had institutions which prepared individuals for work as a school psychologist. At least one more has been added since then.[7] This is rather meager. Many more adequate centers for the specific purpose of training school psychologists should be established.

The Division of School Psychologists of APA has been the most concerned about this existing situation and has for some time been attempting to gather all available information on training, experience, role and function of school psychologists. Prior to the Thayer Conference in 1954 several attempts were made to outline a training program and to interest teachers colleges, schools of education and state departments of education in an effort to make the differing requirements uniform.

In general, some of the academic requirements include courses in child and abnormal psychology, in psychology of learning, of reading, of exceptional children, and tests and measurements. Graduate training should include work in individual testing, techniques of counseling and a practicum in a child guidance or school clinic.[7, 15]

There appears to be a considerable difference of opinion regarding the value of classroom teaching experience as a part of training. Some psychologists and educators feel that nothing else can lead to a true understanding of the variety and nature of problems which face a classroom teacher daily. It is the belief that, without this knowledge the school psychologist is unable to provide realistic recommendations for teachers, nor is it to be expected that teachers will have confidence in his recommendations. This has been a pessimistic view, which, fortunately, is changing.

In a recent symposium [18] an educator presented the view that the

school psychologist need not have actual classroom teaching experience to be effective in serving the teacher, if he be adequately trained. This viewpoint was widely accepted in the discussion following.

It is true that most of the people doing psychological work in the schools today have backgrounds which include at least one year of teaching experience. Primarily because of this, the afore-mentioned ideas have been prevalent. The recent shift in belief may be in part due to the changing nature of the role of the school psychologist.[3, 10]

Until rather recent times the primary function of the school psychologist has been to be a psychometrist.[14, 15, 16] He was fundamentally concerned with the identification of the child who could not benefit from the regular classroom work. From this position, his role has shifted to that of general consultant to all school personnel. Most school psychologists still consider individual testing a primary function, but they *do* perform other services determined by the needs of the school and community which they serve.

It is pleasing to note this changing role of the school psychologist. With many, the emphasis has shifted to counseling and therapy. Still more, the trend is toward working with teachers and parents, rather than with the deviant in the school population.

A poll of school psychologists about what they feel they ought to do finds a preponderance of workers stating a desire to be active in in-service training.[6] Many psychologists are functioning in this area in the schools today. It is by far the most important and challenging role the psychologist can have, since he is able to train other school personnel in learning methods and the awareness of individual differences. He is also able, through his teaching teachers, to make them aware of beginning problems in the classroom, so that they can nip a potential case in the bud, as it were.

As school administrators become increasingly aware that training for teachers is not finished when they leave the teachers college, it is expected that the psychologist will be called upon more often to do in-service training.

Another role which the psychologist expects to be called into is that of helping with curriculum changes. Because of his knowledge of child growth and development he can be of aid in determining whether instructional methods and curriculum meet the needs of the various developmental levels.

In many communities the psychologist may find himself called upon to speak to parent groups. This is a good opportunity for him to explain to parents what the school is attempting to do. Similarly, he can introduce to the parents any changes in curriculum and placement for children and interpret the significance of the changes in the light of the lastest psychological evidences.

The psychologist should build and maintain strong relationships with other professional people who work with children in the region, so he may have their assistance, if needed, in planning a program of milieu therapy for a child.

Psychologists should always feel the need for evaluating their work. One of the best methods is by research. It is important to discover ways of improving the effectiveness of his tools and techniques.[17]

Plans for the future in many schools, in which the psychologist can assist, include establishing specialized programs for the gifted child to develop his potential ability. This group long has been neglected. Plans are under way in many communities to enlarge the programs for the exceptional and defective child. In all these areas the school psychologist can effectively aid in planning.

Several areas of the work of the school psychologist need attention. One is that of psychologist-teacher relations. When breaking ground in a new community or school system, a psychologist often meets a great deal of hostility and defensiveness from teachers.[12] Not knowing the function of a psychologist in their school and unfamiliar with his methods, teachers often feel at a loss or threatened. They sometimes feel that they are being examined, rather than their pupils.

Working with a school child at the University of Florida Reading Clinic, we attempted to handle this problem by establishing and maintaining close contact with the school teacher, who is an integral part of any work with a child. In the diagnostic studies of children, the teacher received a written report of the findings with specific recommendations which she could utilize in the classroom or individual remedial work, rather than esoteric phrases which would be meaningless to her. If a child was receiving remedial instruction at the Clinic, periodic progress reports were made to the teacher and parents. Often a staff member visited the school for conferences with the teachers.

The Clinic acted also as a teacher training center. The Head of the clinic offered courses in theory and laboratory work in reading to teachers. As a result of their work in the clinic the teachers had opportunities to observe and become familiar with the work of the psychological staff and thereby gain an understanding of their tools and techniques.

The psychologist must use a good deal of tact and diplomacy in his relations with other school personnel, especially in initial contacts. As the teacher becomes familiar with his work, and as he is able to make her understand that his function is to supplement hers, rather than supplant her methods of instruction and handling of children, a marked change in attitude often occurs. From hostile negativism come active participation and close harmony.

Often, too, the teacher may be awed by the appearance of a psychologist. In his prestige-producing role she may turn to him for approval of her actions. Here again, the psychologist must endeavor to make the teacher realize that he is only helping her, since she is the key person in the school life of any child, and therefore is in the best position to be the most beneficial to him.[1] When the teacher is able to realize this, much more active cooperation can be obtained from her.

Another factor of importance in some communities is the lack of funds to provide psychological services the schools feel are needed. Some communities solve this problem by having parent groups become sponsors of obtaining the services of a psychologist for the school.[9] University Clinics, such as exist throughout the country [4, 5] have traveling clinics which go to the schools to provide services. These clinics serve their communities, as well as the state, in diagnostic studies of individual children and remedial therapy or treatment for some children. In one New York region, a team composed of a psychiatrist, a psychologist and a psychiatric social worker operate from a state mental hospital, furnishing the schools of the surrounding communities with clinical services.

Summary

The preparation for working as a school psychologist is not nearly so adequate as the APA and educators feel it should be; or are the requirements for the work uniform among the states. Attempts have been and will be made to interest state departments of education in adopting consistent standards. Psychologists are working in almost all areas of education. It is recommended that they act as team members in the school system and as consultants to the various other school personnel.

The need for school psychologists is evident. More and better trained personnel are needed to fill the void and insure the best possible instruction and care of our school children.

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M-P PLANS AND PROJECTS

Inter-Institutional Seminar in Child Development

This cooperative summer educational project involving the University of Michigan, Michigan State University, Wayne University, The Merrill-Palmer School and Greenfield Village Schools is unique, offering unusual and rather exciting opportunities for graduate students in the field of human development. Each of the institutions involved has a point of view and has developed an approach to and methodologies in the field. Each brings to the seminar its research findings and its other unique materials and resources for study and discussion, thus providing an unusual situation for interchange of ideas and concepts among staff and students.

This program is a direct outgrowth of Dr. Anton Brenner's relationships with child development research people in the other institutions in connection with his "School Readiness" research project at Merrill-Palmer School. As Dr. Brenner discussed his research plans and procedures with these groups great interest was expressed. Out of these discussions grew the suggestion that since his project involved an important area of common interest, some means of more effective cooperation among the interested institutions was highly desirable. The outcome, in 1955, was a "Summer Workshop in Current Child Development Research Projects" with 20 students enrolled and 8 full, or part time staff members participating. In addition, outstanding specialists and others in the field of child development made special contributions.

Following the 1955 workshop, considerable satisfaction was expressed by the participating staff and the general feeling was that the project should be continued. It was felt, however, that in 1956 certain changes in emphasis and perhaps in program should be made to meet a broader range of the interests and needs of prospective participants. For this reason the scope of the discussions will be broadened beyond the limits of specific child development research projects in the coming "Inter-Institutional Seminar in Child Development."

The 1956 sessions will be held August 6 to 17 at Waldenwoods Lodge, Hartland, Michigan—a camp setting with excellent facilities for concentrated work and study as well as rest and recreation.

Student enrollment will be between 30 and 45, depending upon the proficiency qualifications of applicants. Each of the educational institutions involved will select from its applicants a minimum of 7 or 8 students. The total staff then will select additional students from the pool of other applicants, disregarding institutional affiliation.

Greenfield Village, Dearborn, in addition to providing a member of the seminar staff, is generously contributing $2,500 to the project, most of which will be used for small student scholarships.

Spring Conference on Growth

Outstanding visiting participants contributed greatly to the success of The Merrill-Palmer School spring conference on "Growth" May 17 and 18. They were

Ludwig von Bertalanffy, Ph.D., Psychosomatic Research Institute, Los Angeles.
Helen M. Lynd, Ph.D., Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, N.Y.
Abraham H. Maslow, Ph.D., Brandies College, Waltham, Mass.
Ruth Learned Munroe, Ph.D., Sarah Lawrence College.

Papers by the conference guests will appear in the Quarterly.

Workshop on the International Student in a Changing World—(July 2-July 27)

This Seminar is planned primarily for *graduate* students from other countries who have been in the United States at least one academic year and who are interested in translating what they have learned in this country into the ways of life of their homeland. American graduate students are also welcome.

Students in child care, public health, education, agriculture, social work, industrial development, etc., are often confronted with questions on the application of ideas and methods they have learned: How do we determine what is desirable to introduce into another country? What are the human factors which will need to be considered? To what extent will ideas from another culture need to be modified to make them acceptable to others?

Lectures, group discussions, field study, intensive study of case material and reports by Seminar members on different areas of life will be the means of exploring these questions. The teaching staff will be Drs. Dorothy Lee (anthropology), Richard Kerckhoff (sociology), and William W. McKee (ethics and religion).

Students will receive four semester hours credit.

New Graduate and Postgraduate Research Program

A graduate and postgraduate program of intensive research train-

ing in human development and family life is being offered by The Merrill-Palmer School in 1956-1957.

One year programs will provide students in such fields as psychology, sociology, education, child development, home economics and anthropology with a closely supervised research experience in ongoing or new research projects. As much as fifty percent of the student's time will be spent in such research. Depending on a student's interest and level of training, experience can be obtained in various phases of research such as over-all planning and study design, utilization of specific data collection techniques, categorization and codification of data and statistical analysis. Students will participate in interdisciplinary seminars with students from other disciplines and in advanced seminars on the role of theory and method in research in human development and family life.

Further details about the program may be obtained from Dr. Irving Sigel, Chairman, Research Program.

Workshop in Family Life Education—(July 2-July 13)

This Workshop is open to high school teachers in family life education, effective living, personal adjustment, family relations and other family-oriented classes. The purpose of the course is to provide the practicing high school teacher an intensive experience in current trends in these fields.

Areas to be covered include: the contemporary family, the goals of family life education, teaching methods and techniques, a review of recent textbooks, teaching aids and materials, reports on current research, and discussions on the use of counseling as an adjunct to family life education. Opportunities for field trips and small discussion groups around specific problems will be available.

Staff members will be Dr. Richard K. Kerckhoff and John W. Hudson.

Students will receive two semester hours credit.

New Staff to Expand School Program

The teaching program of the School will be amplified in September when Miss Carol E. Ballingall joins the teaching staff as a cultural anthropologist. During the past year Miss Ballingall has taught at Wayne University, Detroit. The three preceding years she held a scholarship at the Australian National University, Canberra, and for 18 months did anthropological field research among the Barok people of New Ireland. Miss Ballingall has completed Ph.D. requirements in anthropology except for her dissertation.

Hedley C. Dimock, Ed.D., has accepted a position with The Merrill-

Palmer School as Camp Director, effective January 5, 1957. After that date he will be a permanent member of the staff. During the summer of 1956 he will be Assistant Director of the summer program in the camp setting. Dr. Dimock received his Doctorate from Columbia and is now on the staff of the Montreal Children's Hospital, in charge of one of the children's services.

Workshop for Visiting Teachers—(June 25-July 7)

Those admitted to this Workshop will be practicing visiting teachers—those already accredited and those in the process of meeting their requirements.

Starting from the assumption that parents and classroom teachers can be helped to recognize symptoms and causes of deviant behavior in children at an early stage, the Workshop will concentrate on effective ways of working with parents and teachers toward this end. Attention will be given to the needs and concerns of parents, the role and function of parent groups, the inter-relationship of parent groups and the classroom teacher, and problems related to school administration, boards of education and similar community groups.

Gladys Panton will be the Workshop Leader.

Students will receive two semester hours credit.

Detroit M-P Association

Climaxing its initial year of organization, the Merrill-Palmer Association of Metropolitan Detroit will have held its annual meeting and luncheon at the School early in June before this issue of the Quarterly is distributed. Mrs. Pauline Park Wilson Knapp, Director of the School, is to talk about Merrill-Palmer's present and future, officers for the next two years will have been elected and program plans for next year will have been discussed.

Detroit area alumni and associates had their first meeting at The Merrill-Palmer School June 1, 1955 (M-P Quarterly 1:126), preceded by similar groups in England, in Scandinavia and in India. Plans were discussed for organization of the group and participation in celebrating the School's Thirty-Fifth Anniversary Year. Following further efforts by the Planning Committee, the group formally organized in a meeting which concluded the "Open House," October 14, for former students and staff members. Officers elected were: Chairman, Margaret Cole; Vice Chairman, Sally Brown; Treasurer, Grace Graveline; Recording Secretary, Martha Wendin; Corresponding Secretary, Maybelle Stevens; Publicity Director, Nancy Draper.

At the organization meeting Miss Mary E. Sweeny expressed her delight about the Association, pointing out that there is a new horizon

in the child development-family living field and that those who have been associated with Merrill-Palmer at different times throughout its thirty-five years now can be most helpful. Mrs. Knapp emphasized that Merrill-Palmer stands for "leadership" in meeting the needs of the community and of the times and that the strength of the School increases as its graduates maintain their relationships and contributions to it.

In subsequent meetings a constitution was developed and adopted. At several meetings reports were received about various phases of the ongoing School program. Representation of the Association in the Merrill-Palmer Recognition Fund Committee was arranged. Ideas were developed for a program which would have some service value to Merrill-Palmer and to the community and which would meet the needs of association members. Reports of progress during the past year and projection of plans for the future are the major business for the annual meeting in June.

Workshop in Early Childhood Education—(July 30-August 10)

The Workshop is open to persons with at least one year of experience as teachers of young children. The program will be built around areas of mutual interest of the participants and will draw upon the experiences and situations presented by the group. Such areas as these will be considered: freedom and authority, socialization of the child, work with parents, the relation between the teacher and the community, program resources, administrative procedures.

Keith Osborn will serve as Coordinator with other staff members drawn from the fields of child development, psychology, and early childhood education.

Students will receive two semester hours credit.

Merrill-Palmer Educational Telecasts

June 26 the thirty-sixth half-hour program of the School will be telecast on WTVS, Channel 56, Detroit (M-P Quarterly 1:172, 1955; 2:42, 1955). These programs have involved approximately 30 members of the Merrill-Palmer staff and 70 non-staff participants.

The programs presented weekly starting October 25 under the general title *Building Family Strength* have been in series involving independence-dependence, participation, communication and discipline. Various aspects of these subjects have been discussed and demonstrated under the leadership of staff members, assisted by Merrill-Palmer students, parents, nursery school children and teen-agers.

A committee of staff members interested in the project was formed a year before the educational TV station was operating, to explore its

possibilities for the school. During the past year this group has expanded and in frequent meetings the members have exchanged information and ideas and developed over-all plans for Merrill-Palmer programs. Until mid-March Dr. Tilla Vahanian carried the responsibility of implementing the ETV Committee plans—working with other staff members in developing individual programs, in rehearsals and opening and closing each program "on the air." From that time and until the end of June, Dr. Nancy Morse is developing the programs and working with the Committee, not only on plans for the current series but also on plans for next Fall.

During the year all of the individuals involved have gained greatly from experience and experimentation, in planning, in developing, and in presenting telecasts. At present, plans for the 1956-1957 school year are for series of afternoon programs on WTVS which can be used as the basis of discussion during the first half-year and for series of evening programs during the second half.

WORKSHOP IN INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS—(June 18-July 27)

The Workshop open to *graduates* and *undergraduates* gives students an opportunity to extend their understanding of human relations by becoming an integral part of a group at The Merrill-Palmer Camp. Readings, observations, discussions, and actual work with children serve as the media for studying the individual and his group.

Consideration will be given to factors which tend to foster or impede the individual child's socialization with his peer group; the dynamics of group life and how they affect individual and group development; the role of the adult leader or teacher in the school-age group. The limited number of students permits individual attention and close supervision in all aspects of the program.

The staff, with Keith Osborn as Coordinator, will include representatives from the fields of social group work, psychology, child development, and education.

Students will receive six semester hours credit.

Book Review

AS YOU SEE IT. Catherine E. Steltz, Ph.D. Packet consisting of 24 8 x 10 reproductions of photographs by the author and a manual for guidance in their use. Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York 27. $2.95

Anyone who has recognized the deep interest that adolescents have in moral and social problems, and who has then felt like a whole herd of elephants in trying to help young people discuss these problems, will find invaluable help in a set of photographs that Catherine Steltz has provided.

Back of the sensitive photographs of human relations that Dr. Steltz has developed lies a great deal of research. First, Dr. Steltz wanted to ascertain as carefully as she could the social, moral, and spiritual problems that outstanding thinkers agree are central to our times. She next wanted to establish as accurately as she could how these problems were felt by young people. Beyond this, she did a good deal of work in the area of group discussion: how it arises, what the conditions are that make it most productive, and what seems to interfere with learning through discussion. On top of this rather substantial background research, Dr. Steltz investigated thoroughly the problem of developing pictures that would evoke response. Finally she demonstrated a high order of ability in designing and capturing with her photographs the fleeting instance in the relations between and amongst individuals which would convey to the viewer the essence of a social or moral problem.

Some experimental use has already been made of these photographs. They have been used with junior high school, senior high school and college students. They have been used with groups of youth outside of school settings. In all of these uses of which the reviewer is aware, the photographs have been extremely successful in helping young people to discuss with each other problems in the areas of marriage and family living, the community, and the special problems that adolescents themselves face in personal choices. Those who have used the photographs with these groups have included English and social studies teachers, home room teachers, psychologists, counselors, guidance consultants, and youth workers in community agencies. The reviewer believes that chaplains and others working with youth in the armed forces may find these photographs useful for many of the discussions they are asked to lead with young people.

The Bureau of Publications is to be congratulated for the attractive style and efficient form in which they have published Dr. Steltz' photographs and manual.

Esther Lloyd-Jones, Ph.D.
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POSTSCRIPT

Miss Mary Sweeny, well-known former assistant director of The Merrill-Palmer School, has drawn attention to the outstanding work being done in India by Dr. Kamala Bhoota, a student at the School in 1941-1942 while she was getting her Ph.D. degree from the University of Michigan. Dr. Bhoota was associated with Miss Sweeny in the development of the Arthur Road Nursery School in Bombay and was a co-author of "An Adventure in Pre-School Education in India."

Dr. Bhoota, a founder member of the Children's Film Society, describes "The Ripening Seed" in *Samaj-Seva* (6:10, 1955), Indian social service publication:

. . . The story begins with the birth of the baby Asok . . . he has parents who are devoted to each other; they have been wanting Asok, and will love him and respect him for what he is. Baby Asok, therefore, will grow up feeling secure.

. . . He has a nice crib (not a cradle) where he sleeps or plays without the danger of falling out. He is breast-fed and caressed too . . .

As the baby grows he begins to assert himself. This desire for independence is frequently seen at mealtime . . . Leela wisely lets Asok eat by himself. He will spill food in the beginning, but then he'll be able to learn an important skill which will give him a feeling of adequacy, help him develop independence and also enjoy his meals.

When the child is three years old . . . He needs the companionship of other children; he needs also a variety of outlets for self-expression. So Asok enters a nursery school, the modern type of nursery school provides opportunities for intellectual, physical, social and emotional growth. The teacher has considerable knowledge of child psychology. She remains in the background, alert to what is going on, so that she may step in when the situation demands her intervention. . . .

The nursery school also provides outdoor play. . . . Self-expression is also facilitated through water-play, clay, painting, doll-play and block-building. . . .

. . . As they work and play together and learn to take turns at the play material, they learn cooperation and respect for each other's rights. . . .

. . . "It is growing inside me," the mother replies. Then with the help of illustrations in the book "A Baby is Born" by Levin she proceeds to explain how the baby grows inside a bag in the mother's stomach.

. . . She had said, "You will have a little baby sister or brother some day soon. Won't it be fun to play with the baby? You will love the baby and help me take care of it, won't you?"

Jealousy, however, cannot be totally absent from Asok's heart. Sometimes it becomes intense, as when friends dropped in to see the baby. Each one brings a gift for the baby. Asok stands in a corner, forlorn and jealous. Leela had been prepared to meet the situation. She has a gift all wrapped and ready for the occasion. Asok is happy to have the gift and the gulf of jealousy between him and the sister shrinks considerably.

A child like Asok who has the understanding, love and acceptance of his parents has adequate satisfaction of his fundamental needs. In the atmosphere of harmony and security that surrounds him at home and at school he is likely to grow into a desirable citizen who is an asset to his country.

The *Indian Documentary* for July-September, 1955, displays on its cover a "still" from "The Ripening Seed." The review of the film, in that issue, says:

This first Art Films of Asia Ltd. production made for the Ministry of Education and released by the Films Division is a dramatized documentary on the art and science of bringing up children, especially the first borns. . . .

The dry-as-dust advice doled out by maternity welfare officers is presented in this "expostulatory" film in an attractive manner for all those contemplating marriage or expecting a baby. With Dr. Kamala Bhoota, the child welfare specialist as the Technical Adviser and also as a bit player in the role of a teacher, the film starts with the birth of a baby to a middle-class couple and ends up with the arrival of another. Within the 15 minutes of the screen-time is squeezed in the first four years of the first-born with much understanding and idealism. . . .

The same issue of *Indian Documentary* contains an excellent article by Dr. Bhoota on "Stories for Children." Miss Sweeny reports that she also conducts a very successful nursery school in Bombay.

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